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Oxford movement: its themes and their significance

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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT:
ITS THEMES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

by

Arthur B. Goyette

Submitted in partial requirement for
fulfillment of the Senior Scholar Program.

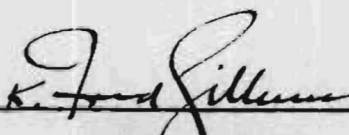
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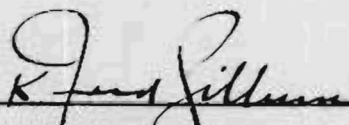
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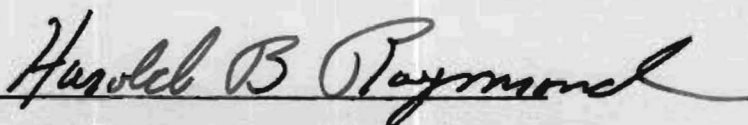

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many of society's problems today are attributed to the prevalent secular, rather than a spiritual, orientation of the State. Such an assertion involves one in the age-old controversy of the relationship of spiritual and secular powers to the existing State, or the people. At times, as in the Middle Ages or pre-Davidic Israel, the spiritual powers have ruled, and, in the broad sense of the word, the Church was the State.¹ At other times, as in Soviet Russia today, the spiritual aspect has been almost entirely eliminated and a secular Government has become the State. In addition to these, there are many examples of various degrees of compromise between the two positions. No matter what disagreement there might be as to which orientation is to be preferred, one must acknowledge that the solutions to the problems of the States of the world today must come through harmonious cooperation of both. Since one is aware of the present relationship of the spiritual and secular powers in the State, and since the degree of success that has been achieved in dealing with world problems is quite

obvious, a study of the Oxford Movement in early nineteenth century England will permit one to examine a different expression of this relationship and its affect on State conditions.

In the period immediately preceeding the Oxford Movement, the Church was quite lax and, through neglect of its duties, had become corrupt to the extent that it commanded very little respect from the people, to say nothing of being considered an instrument through which the State might satisfy its many needs. As a result, the supremacy of the secular powers went almost unchallenged. Their philosophy was the rationalistic Utilitarianism of Bentham. Over a period of time this had led to the belief that the realization of human nature was to be achieved through the adaptation and development of the world's material resources to the greatest possible satisfaction of one's personal pleasures. The result was a narrow, self-orientated view of the world which eventually became "the equation, of man, with the ultimate spiritual principle of the universe." ² Not only did the Utilitarian philosophy bring about a new estimate of the nature of man, but it then proceeded to remake the institutions designed for a society which had emphasized mankind's spiritual personality. It was against this modification which the men of the Oxford Movement rebelled. William George Peck, in his The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement, seems to have arrived at the same conclusion:

"The essential nature of the 'liberalism' against which the Tractarians strove was not the desire for liberation from unprincipled autocracy, unfair privilege, or class superiority, but something subversive,...of the painfully preserved sanctities of man's existence. It was the belief that the human future might be conducted upon a basis of sheer experimentalism. It is a basis which, ...denied any spiritual significance,...in human personality and society. Such secularized humanism, devoid of any firm dogma of man, comes at length to regard only the phenomenal values of personality.... A man must now prove his worth for this world. In the result, it is unable to convince any man that he is worth very much. It brought the modern plutocracy and the consequent confusion and loss of human value and direction." 3

But if this was the nature of life presented to the nation by the secular powers, then why did not the people turn to the spiritual orientation traditionally offered by religion? Part of the answer was that orthodoxy no longer effectively communicated its spirituality and that the Nonconformist expression which dominated the religious world, Evangelicalism, was little different from Benthamism in this respect.⁴ Both Utilitarianism and Evangelicalism were centered around the individual, usually developing a selfish orientation. They both considered the secular Government the proper authority to reform the Church. And both were indifferent to organization, tradition, history, and often, spiritual inspiration.⁵ Thus, even religion directed the people along secular channels. In an attempt to remedy this situation, the men at Oxford initiated the Oxford Movement. In seeking an alteration of

the existing Church - State relationship, and by defining more clearly what the Church represented, the Movement attempted to offer the State the spiritual orientation which the Church had presented in the past.

In other studies the Oxford Movement has been treated largely in terms of the biographies of the men involved, as an ill-defined series of circumstances associated with the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century, or as a mere device to give an historical basis to abstract speculations on the development of the philosophies of man in the past few centuries. In contrast, this study will be confined to an abstraction of the major themes of the Movement, with a description of how they were developed through the interaction of the ideas and actions of the men commonly accepted as the leaders of the Oxford Movement. In the concluding chapter the liberty has been reserved to make several generalizations as to the significance of the Movement in its time and for men today.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Herbert Hensley Henson, The Church of England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1939), pp. 34-37.

2. William George Peck, The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933) p. 23.

3. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

4. D. C. Somervell, English Thought In The Nineteenth Century (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), pp. 99-102.

5. Ibid., pp. 102-104.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Since in its earliest stages the Oxford Movement was concerned with the relationship of Church and State, to separate the Movement from other expressions of the Church - State struggle in the past would limit and distort one's understanding of its many implications. Because the mature Movement also concentrated on overcoming the effects of Utilitarian Liberalism, one must also consider the effect of this philosophy on nineteenth century English life to grasp the full significance of the Movement in its own century and for the modern world.

From the very beginning the Christian Church was subservient to, and dependent upon, the secular powers. Without the superior Roman military might, Christianity perhaps never would have replaced the more barbaric and deep-rooted religious expressions of the province of Britain.¹ In the Anglo-Saxon period, insularity, distance from Rome, slowness of communication, and the strong resistance of pagan forms of religion, in addition to the dependence upon temporal rulers, all strained the ties with Rome and the position of the Church grew no stronger. For a time this trend was reversed in the Middle Ages. With the support of the strong arm of William the Conqueror, the Church seemed to gain new strength.² William

brought elements of the feudal system of the continent to England, which included the heightened prestige of the Church. In the establishment of Convocation, a representative body of the clergy in the House of Lords, the Church even seemed to have gained the power to aid in determination of some of the policies of the secular rulers. However, the opposite was true, for it was the Government which gained by this development. Now not only the sovereign, but Parliament as well, was in a position to influence the policies of the Church. This growing secularization of the Church led to many corruptions. Pluralities, papal indulgences, and the sale of relics were but a few of these. Such corruptions led to the rise of Henry VIII's power over the Church and enabled him to bring about the radical alterations in the relationship of Church and State which resulted in the birth of the Anglican Church.

With Henry VIII "the church in England" became "the English Church." This represented a complete alteration of the Church - State problem. The Church was now an English institution, no longer an integral part of the Church universal. Not only did the parliament of 1529-1536 sever the bonds of Rome, but, in effect, it established the supremacy of the Government over the English Church.³ Papal power was extirpated by statute and the king's title became "Supreme Head in earth of the Church." The persecutions by Mary Tudor merely served to test this new Church - State relationship, whereas Queen Elizabeth and succeeding sovereigns continued the

"Reformation" already begun. A court of High Commissions was nominated as a high ecclesiastical tribunal, and the Act of Uniformity and the thirty-nine Articles were accepted by Convocation in 1562 and enacted by Parliament in 1571. All these factors were instrumental in forming the body of a strong national Church with a lasting character of its own.

In the seventeenth century the Church and its corruptions became associated with absolutism as a result of its support of the "Divine Right" theory of the Stuarts. In repayment for its support of the Crown, in 1673 the Test Act was passed in protection of the Church. A reaction arose in protest against the tyranny which resulted from the close association of the Church and the Crown. Its strength is clearly displayed in the beheading of Archbishop Laud and King Charles I. Not only was there strong opposition to this former relationship, but, as might be seen in the rise of Puritanism and other Nonconformist movements, there was an attempt to reinvigorate religion itself by an over-all reform program. With the Act of Succession of 1701, the King's title became dependent upon the will of Parliament, destroying the theory of "Divine Right." The power of religion having been partially separated from the Government in the form of Nonconformist groups, this new freedom was further protected by the Toleration Act of 1689 and the suspension of Convocation. Though the vitality of religion had been snatched from the hands of the Crown, in the process it had been also somewhat torn from the Church. Not yet firmly

established in the hands of the youthful Nonconformist groups, it was left largely to the manipulation of Parliament. The Government was still the stronger in the struggle for supremacy.

By the eighteenth century the strength of orthodox religion had been reduced greatly. The Anglican Church was feeble and inactive and was now even more an instrument of Parliament. Its clergy were lazy, daily services were discontinued, and the Church fabric was neglected.⁴ Communion was infrequent and holy days were disregarded. From 1717 to 1852 Convocation existed only in name.⁵ The Church's one praiseworthy quality was its intellectual defense. In reaction to the neglect of the nation's religion by orthodoxy, Nonconformist movements arose with greater vigor than before. The major expression was the great Evangelical revival. This was said to have begun with William Law's Serious Call in 1728.⁶ Influenced by Law and his works, John Wesley organized a group that grew into the mighty Methodist Movement which emphasized the necessity of a living spiritual faith. Although this movement separated from the Church, another developed which remained within the fold. At the time of the Oxford Movement this new movement was known as the Evangelical party.⁷ Evangelicalism emphasized faith as an individual enterprise rather than as a means of salvation by incorporation into an organized church. This movement was one of the most dangerous threats the Church had yet encountered. With the extension of toleration under George III, an organized rationalistic protest appeared against sub-

scription to the thirty-nine Articles. Although the movement was suppressed by 1772, it illustrates the extent to which the Church suffered because of its subjection to the legislation of the Government. Further destructive Utilitarian reactions were temporarily checked by the French Revolution. This halted the progress of secular rationalism and saved the Church from even greater loss of power.⁸

In order to understand the position of the Church at the time of the Oxford Movement, one should be aware also of the general effect of Utilitarianism on other aspects of English life in the nineteenth century.

The England which emerged from the French Revolution was greatly different from the country which entered the war. Instead of the expected "Peace and Prosperity", turmoil and poverty existed throughout the country. An increased birth rate and the return of servicemen brought about a large increase in the population. This in turn meant a larger labor supply which, with the decreased demand for manufactured war goods and the increased use of machinery in industry, led to a serious unemployment problem and poverty among the laboring classes. The "protection policy" of the Tory party and the inefficiency of the Poor Law at that time affected the agricultural classes in a similar manner. The inevitable reaction to these conditions took the form of strikes and machinery-smashing demonstrations by the starving laborers, and riots and rick-burning by the poorer farmers. The Tory administration of Lord Liverpool led the Government which had to deal with

these problems. Under George, Prince of Wales, it proved to be narrow-minded and opposed to all measures of reform.⁹

Strikes and riots were treated as revolutionary conspiracies against the Crown, rather than manifestations of poverty and starvation. The Governments repressive policies were unnecessarily violent and unjust, leading to new protests and demonstrations which added to the general unrest of the country.¹⁰

In addition to the more violent changes in national character, there were also more peaceful and subtle modifications. Individuals and society as a whole developed a new moral concern which was expressed in a growing feeling against drunkenness, foul language, and other vices. This is clearly illustrated in the strong contempt for the Regent George, Prince of Wales.¹¹ Individuals freely and more willingly discussed their religious views, and a feeling of self-confidence spread across the nation. These more mature and peaceful modifications were soon carried over into the political area, bringing about a change in the undesirable Tory administration. The Liverpool ministry was replaced by younger, less reactionary men who introduced policies much more in line with the sadly needed domestic reforms. However, rather than solving the problems of the nation, they merely brought about a split in the Tory Party.¹²

With the death of Canning, who had replaced Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington became prime minister. Again, the Tory policies were designed to avoid all constitutional change and

maintain the status quo. The unexpected weakness and yielding of the Duke in difficulty, and his stubbornness in remaining in office in defeat, eventually led to a change in hands of the political power.¹³ At about the same time that Wellington entered into office, a strong agitation developed objecting to the abuses and corruptions of the Church in Ireland. Clergy were appointed to positions which demanded no service, incomes were out of proportion, and tax collections were unjust. Under the able leadership of Daniel O'Connell the usual violent expression of Irish discontent proved too much for Wellington. The Duke's first retreat was the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts in 1828, and his second was the carrying of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Because of these defeats, even Wellington's most faithful followers refused to recognize his leadership. It was but a short time before the Whigs were returned to power.¹⁴

When one considers the change in the Government with the parallel developments on the continent in mind, what seems to be a mere change in ministries proves to be much more than that. In 1830 the domination of Europe by the Holy Alliance was suddenly threatened by popular risings in every region of the continent. Beginning in France, they spread through Poland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany. The political make-up of the continent was changed almost overnight. Only with this in mind does one grasp the full significance of the replacement of Wellington by Grey. Except for brief interludes, the Tories

had run the nation for as long as most Englishmen could remember. Now the Whigs were in command. What had been brought about on the continent by armed violence, had been accomplished in England by the peaceful election of the Whigs to office.

One of the first and most important accomplishments of the Whig Government was the Reform Bill of 1832. This made the franchise more uniform throughout the kingdom and removed many other abuses of representation.¹⁵ In effect this was to change the basis of the Government from social to economic and bring about the ascendancy of the middle class to power. Utilitarianism was the philosophy of the middle class, and under the guidance of its principles, many liberal reforms were introduced. More humane working conditions were established by the Factory Acts, and the Poor Laws were remodeled. In Ireland an attempt was made to improve educational and religious conditions. Many of the people expected the reforms to become increasingly more radical until the nation was altered beyond recognition. The more hysterical feared a revolution no less violent than that of France.

"If protracted a little longer it would probably have led to the abolition of the House of Lords and many other sudden and destructive changes. To some people the time-honoured constitution of England seemed in danger; they prophesied that the Radicals would sweep the Whigs in their train, and carry universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the whole programme of complete democracy the moment that the great bill had passed. There were even persons who made wagers that the United Kingdom would cease to be a monarchy before ten years were out." ¹⁶

The Utilitarians had come into power and everything was expected to bend to their will. This, then was the general situation which confronted the Church in the nineteenth century.

In its long, strenuous struggle throughout its history, the Church had first won its freedom from Rome; then had gained its release from complete dependence on the sovereign; and now, in the nineteenth century, found itself faced with the most difficult of all its undertakings, a simultaneous struggle with parliament and with corrupt and rebellious elements within its own ranks. To add to the difficulty, the more vivid memories of the French Revolution had faded, decreasing the fear of radical movements, thus confronting the Church with a newly released, energetic Utilitarianism. The repeal of the Test Act and the carrying of Catholic Emancipation represented major gains by the enemies of the Church.¹⁷ Unorganized religion, in the hands of powerful political figures, also had made serious inroads upon former Church powers.

The previously described conditions are what prompted those members of the Church residing at Oxford to rise to its defense in what came to be called the Oxford Movement. Rationalistic Utilitarianism had almost completely destroyed the security, unity, and order found in the long tradition of Christianity, which to the people at this time was represented by the English Church. It was thus all that Christianity represented and the corresponding Church - State relationship protecting it which the members of the Oxford Movement hoped to preserve.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. W. E. Lunt, History of England (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 37.
2. Henry Offley Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England (London: Rivingtons, 1904), pp. 85-94. Also, Henson, The Church of England, pp. 7-15.
3. Keith Feiling, A History of England (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 354-355
4. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), I, 183-185.
5. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, pp. 422-423, 478.
6. Ibid., p. 438.
7. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 185-186.
8. Lunt, History of England, pp. 603-604.
9. Charles Oman, England in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923), pp. 60-61.
10. Ibid.
11. Oman, England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 54.
12. Ibid., pp. 63-67.
13. Ibid., pp. 68-70.
14. Elie Halevy, A History of the English People 1830-1841 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, [no date]), pp. 11-12.
15. George C. Broderick and J. K. Fotheringham, The Political History of England (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), XI, 305-306.
16. Oman, England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 80.
17. E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938), pp. 490-492.

CHAPTER III
RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE 1830'S

The tensions between Church and State which produced the Oxford Movement may be seen in a study of the institutional and spiritual character of the Church in the years immediately preceding the Movement.

A general survey of this era reveals a small but growing minority of Roman Catholics and a much larger minority of Protestant dissenters. In general the dissenters belonged to the shopkeeping and middle classes of the towns. The poor were for the most part pagan and superstitious with a thin veneer of religious observance. The greatest part of the population of the country districts and almost the whole upper class supported, externally at least, the established Church.¹

Clerical life had become lax, differing greatly from that of the Church founders. A reasonably accurate portrait of the typical clergyman of the day may be found in the novels of Jane Austen.² In general, he was the patriarch of his parish, as well as its ruler, doctor, lawyer, and teacher. He thought of himself as primarily a minister of morals, rather than as one possessed of mysterious powers received of Christ

on his ordination as his ambassador. The worst hunted, fished, drank, and gambled during the week, behaving much like the ordinary townsman. In fact, in parts of England and Wales, drunkenness was a very common vice among the clergy.³ On Sunday they mumbled through the habitual meaningless service. The majority, however, led a family life of worldly simplicity and purity. They were kindly, gentle-mannered, generous, refined and intelligent individuals, content to live their lives much as their ancestors had done before them.⁴ They had an exaggerated fear of fanaticism and a holy horror of cant. If they had thought out their theological position, most would have classified themselves as Low Churchmen.⁵ They seldom claimed priestly powers of absolution and feared Rome and any approach to Roman doctrine. They held and taught a cold, negative Protestantism, deadening to the imagination and studiously repressive to the emotions. This "faith" made little demand on the conscience, or claim on the life, of the laity.

"Under its chilling touch poetry, love, high ideal, noble aspiration, largeness of conception, breadth of theological grasp, historical sympathy, sense of mission, power of sacrifice faded out of the larger part of the English Church, and left in their places but a decorous sense of duty and a sleepy routine of practise."⁶

The result of this degenerate clergy was a correspondingly slumbering national Church.

Without strong spiritual leadership many secular corruptions appeared in the Church. One of these involved patronage and property. As a result of long neglect of a strict

adherence to the idealistic dictates of conscience, Church patronage had fallen largely into the hands of the land-holding class and was often used to make provision in life for the younger son of the patron.⁷ The close link of patronage and legal doctrines of property resulted in the institution to benefices many men who were poorly qualified and often completely unfit. This resulted in a corresponding increase in the poor quality and quantity of the clergy and further corruption of the Church.

The tithes system was another serious blemish of the spiritual order. Not only was this a source of complaint in England and Wales, but the protests were even more outspoken in Ireland. The incidence of the tithe was capricious and the method of assessment and collection bad. Until 1836 they were paid in kind, the annual amount being fixed by bargaining between collectors and the farmers. At this time a bill was introduced causing them to be paid in money, the basis of valuation being the average market price of certain grains over a specified period of time.⁸ This was only a partial solution, however. The other malfunctions were continued with an appropriate chorus of protests from those who suffered. Especially loud were the Irish, who were held responsible for the financial burderns of an ecclesiastical organization which to them, who were predominantly Roman Catholic, seemed to have nothing to offer but criticism and persecution.⁹ Yet, these were not the worst of the faults of the English Church.

Other complaints were voiced and among them perhaps the most thorough and effective were the Black Book published in 1820 and its successor The Extraordinary Black Book published in 1831. These were detailed accounts of existing abuses and corruption in both State and Church.¹⁰ High on the list of Church abuses were those concerned with non-residence and pluralities.¹¹ Bishops and other clergy received undeserved financial benefit in many instances of both cases. Living away from their benefices, the proper obligations of the clergy to their congregations could not possibly be fulfilled. In the plural situation, in which more than one benefice was held at the same time, the clergy simply did not have the time to tend both congregations and often tended neither. In both abuses the clergy was paid unearned money for untended congregations. Yet violations continually occurred without apparent affect on the consciences of those betraying their ecclesiastical vows. From the bottom to the top of the ecclesiastical system the rot of corruption might be found.

"The highest authorities accepted pluralism and non-residence; even those who saw the need of change set a bad example. Blomfield was wise enough, after his promotion to the see of London in 1828, to realize that unless the church submitted to reform there might be a general confiscation of ecclesiastical property; yet from 1810 to 1828 he held more than one benefice. During part of this time he was also making a good income from private pupils;....If a reforming bishop could accumulate money and preferment in this way, the average prelate or well-born incumbent might well go farther." ¹²

The degradation of religion was not limited to administrative aspects of the Church, but was carried into the very houses of God and the services held in tribute to Him. That is, when the services were held; for, except for the cathedrals, most church buildings were open only three or four hours a week.¹³ When services were held, they were often opposed to the directions of the Prayer-book and were usually made up of snatches of largely meaningless tradition. With the pews gathered around it, the pulpit had assumed a prominent position at front center. Dirty fonts and altars also indicated the inferior position of the sacraments as compared to the sermon.¹⁴ Such conditions marked the separation of man and God; worldly considerations leaving religion to the grime-ridden shadows of superstition and neglect.

Corruption led to further corruption, until, not only was little attempt made for self-reform, but the Church was reduced to a state that made such an attempt almost impossible. There was no effort to collect opinion of Churchmen on any question affecting the improvement and well-being of the Church. Diocesan and ruridecanal synods had long ceased to be held. Convocation met formally only once before each session of Parliament. Even then it was not permitted to transact business.¹⁵ As a result, the Church, as an organization, gave no appearance of seeking, or hoping to seek, reform. Thus there was no alternative but that reforms be initiated outside of the organized Church.

Outside of the established Church a powerful reform movement was begun by the Evangelicals. This group had inherited the theology and tradition of the more zealous clergy who had sympathized with the Methodist revival. Their reforms were as earnest and vigorous as the work of their ancestors and they put many of the Orthodox to shame in both philanthropic and intellectual enterprises.¹⁶ They were instrumental in bringing about the reforms of prison and slavery conditions.¹⁷ However, their over-all theological system was shallow and one-sided. They lacked the sweep of Luther, the thoroughness of Calvin, and the discipline of John Knox and the Puritans. Greatly responsible for their extensive popular support was their heroic endurance of persecution and the novel form and emphasis of their preaching. The very reason for the popularity of their preaching, which was their emphasis of the contracted themes of a call to repentance and the forgiveness of sin, marked their greatest weakness. After a preliminary stimulation to action, they lacked a well-organized means of education and the development of character.¹⁸ With time even their writing and preaching became increasingly meagre, until little at all was done about building a Christian life of truth and goodness in the individual. Though the Evangelical Movement had done some good in making individuals conscious of religion and a need of improving their lives, as such, it failed to stimulate an organized reform of the established Church. The bishops remained gentlemen scholars with minor worldly vices, and throughout the ecclesiastical ranks the corruption continued unabated.

As a result of an extended continuation of these conditions and the lack of an officially organized reform by the Church, protests were made by a group of individuals in the 1820's and 1830's. At Oxford they were known as the Noetics, but they later came to be known as Broad Churchmen.¹⁹ They occupied a position between the High Churchmen and the Evangelicals.²⁰ They were liberal scholars who were so completely thorough in subjecting all aspects of religion to criticism, that they were accepted neither by Orthodox nor Evangelicals. It was said of one of the more famous of them that "He woke up every morning with the conviction that everything was open to question." Yet because of their relatively greater concern for administrative and financial reform of the Church, they gained popular interest more successfully than either the High or Low Clergy.²¹

Among the more noted Broad Churchmen were Dr. Whately and Dr. Arnold. Whately vigorously insisted on an examination of all matters, even those considered beyond dispute by the more reactionary of the Orthodox and the radical of the Evangelicals. He urged men to seek the meaning behind their words. His view of the Church was that stated in his Letters Of An Episcopalian, which pictured it as an independent, spiritual, organic, entity. The chief criticism against him was his abstractness, which eventually left him with few readers and followers.²² In contrast to Dr. Whately's intellectualism, Dr. Arnold's dominant motive of action was love of Christ. He disliked the tendency

to sever the relationship of religion and Government, believing that the greatness of England depended upon the religious character of the people, which could be guaranteed only by bringing the power of the life and death of Jesus to bear upon each citizen of the nation.²³ Repudiating the traditional doctrines and theory of the Church as a divine society founded by Jesus, he pictured it as a chance brotherhood gathered together in a common Christian experience. Arnold, too, was largely unsuccessful because his views were too revolutionary.

Though the Evangelical and Broad Church movements had little direct effect in reforming the established Church as a whole, indirectly they did prod the slumbering behemoth until it stirred and lifted its sleepy head, looking for a more comfortable position in which to settle down.²⁴ The administrative reforms which the Evangelicals helped bring about enforced a more careful performance of spiritual duties, uncramping the vessels through which flowed the life blood of the Church, re-awakening the belief in the sacred mission of the clergy.²⁵ This life blood reached and stimulated isolated individuals like Newman, who were stirred by its message of the importance of a personal religion, became interested in doing something with it and gave the nation a "new" understanding of the role of the Church. Among those stirred were Hugh James Rose, John Keble, and Richard Hurrell Froude. They gathered at Oriel College, Oxford to interpret the vague spirit of enquiry which

was abroad, and to weld the dim and half understood ideals into a definite system of religious doctrine and practice.²⁶

They objected to most of the shallow current views, deciding to counteract them by emphasizing the Apostolic succession and the Catholicity of the Church. No longer was the Church to be thought of as a mere department of state. At last it was awake and determined to do something about the irritating disturbances of secular attempts at handling its spiritual problems. Thus when the judicial committee of the privy council was made the new substitute for a final court of appeal in matters of Church discipline, and a bill was passed for the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics, protest could be restrained no more. Keble preached his assize sermon on national apostasy on July 14, 1833.²⁷ This was closely followed in the next month by a religious conference at Hadleigh. Again, the strength of the Church was about to be tried in a struggle with the State, this time under the banner of the Oxford Movement.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 483.
2. Jane Austen, Pride and Prejudice (Boston: Wilkins, Carter & Co., 1848).
3. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 459.
4. R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909), pp. 3-5.
5. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, pp. 459-460.
6. Ibid., p. 461.
7. Ibid., p. 457.
8. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 491.
9. For an understanding of the Irish position one should refer to Elie Halevy, A History of the English People 1830-1841, pp. 134, 138-139; Charles Oman, England in the Nineteenth Century, p. 89; and E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, pp. 330-333.
10. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 27, 489.
11. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 458.
Also, Broderick and Fotheringham, The Political History of England, p. 336.
12. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 489.
13. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 458.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Halevy, A History of the English People 1830-1841, pp. 237-238.
Also, Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 486.

17. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 14-15.
18. A more complete evaluation of the work of Evangelical groups may be obtained by consulting R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 15; Henry Offley Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, pp. 455-456; and E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 485.
19. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, pp. 487-488.
20. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 16-18.
21. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, pp. 487-489.
22. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 8.
23. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 463.
24. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, p. 457.
25. Ibid., pp. 485-486, 490.
26. Ibid., pp. 465-467.
27. Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England, p. 467.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNINGS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The Oxford Movement is most effectively described in a three-part consideration: its conception and struggle for recognition, its maturity and effect on its environment, and its decline and assimilation into the more normal and less romantic operations of the Church.

In the first stage, though research reveals that he was neither the original inspiration nor impulse of the Movement, John Henry Newman played the central role.¹ This was brought about through circumstances which created a demand for the particular capabilities and ideas which he happened to possess at the time. Thus, rather than through any deliberate endeavors of his own, Newman naturally assumed the leadership of the Oxford Movement.² For this reason the early development of the Oxford Movement can be explained most easily in terms of the unfolding career of John Henry Newman.

Born in 1801, John Henry Newman attended a private school, and in 1816 he entered Trinity College, Oxford. While still a young boy he was imbued with religious feelings which remained with him throughout his life. Fortunately, he recorded two of these, which he selected as those having the most important effect on the direction of his life.

"1. I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true: my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers, and talismans....

"I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world."

2. ... "I was very superstitious, and for some time previous to my conversion" [when I was fifteen] "used constantly to cross myself on going into the dark." 3

That the mature Cardinal of the Roman Church recalled such youthful views as influencing his religious development indicates the continuing sense of spiritual mystery which accompanied Newman throughout his religious growth.

During his college career as a student, Newman added new ideas and convictions which are of importance to this study. The influence of Reverend Walter Mayer resulted in the acceptance of various Calvinistic views which earned Newman the reputation that later formed an obstacle in the development of friendships which were to lead to the Oxford Movement.⁴ However, other influences were to play an even more important part in his life. In 1816 he read Joseph Milner's Church History.⁵ This introduced him to the primitive Christian community and marked the beginning of an obsession which was to dominate his entire career. The early Church fathers were his "beau-ideal" and his interpretation of them was worked into the very backbone of the Oxford Movement.⁶ Another important influence at this time was the reading of Newton on the Prophecies which convinced him that

the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by St. Paul and St. John. This belief remained with him and decidedly affected his thought until 1843.⁷ More significant than these influences on Newman as a student were those impressed on his more mature mind as a member of the staff at Oxford.

When Newman took orders in 1824 and accepted a curacy at Oxford he was introduced to Dr. Edward Hawkins, then Vicar of St. Mary's and later Provost of Oriel. It was he who gave Newman a copy of Sumner's "Treatise on Apostolical Preaching", a work which led Newman to an acceptance of Baptismal Regeneration and final rejection of Calvinism.⁸ It was Dr. Hawkins who led Newman to anticipate an attack upon the books and the canon of Scripture, and prepared him in part for such with his opinions on the subject.⁹ As a result Newman came to believe that "the sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and that, if we would learn doctrine, we must have recourse to the Creeds."¹⁰ This belief further separated Newman from the Protestantism of the time, which derived its doctrines from the Scriptures, by causing him to lean towards the Catholic doctrine of Tradition.

About the year 1823, during walks with Reverend William James in the meadow of Christ Church, Newman received another teaching of importance to the Oxford Movement. This was the doctrine of Apostolic succession.¹¹ This became one of the early issues of the Movement as a result of the suppression of certain Irish bishoprics in 1833.

Of another of his early associates Newman says:

"While I was still awkward and timid in 1822, he took me by the hand, and acted towards me the part of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He, emphatically, opened my mind, and taught me to think and use my reason."¹² Newman later became very intimate with him as his Vice-Principal at Alban Hall. This man was Dr. Richard Whately, generally known as the author of "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian." Newman interpreted the salient points of this essay as being "first that Church and State should be independent of each other:...and, secondly, that the Church may justly and by right retain its property, though separated from the State."¹³ Whately was thus out of time, holding the unpopular position of separation of Church and State.¹⁴ Newman, however, observed of Whately's essay, "His work had a gradual, but a deep effect on my mind."¹⁵ The one great truth he had learned from Whately was the "idea of the Christian Church as a Divine appointment and as a substantive visible body, independent of the State, and endowed with rights, prerogatives and powers of its own."¹⁶

In 1829 Sir Robert Peel presented his Roman Catholic Relief Bill just before going out of office. The question of his re-election gave Newman his first opportunity to make a public stand on his views of the relationship of Church and State. The strange and unexpected outcome was the end of the friendship with Whately which had been responsible for

the establishment of his views on the subject.¹⁷ Peel appealed to the University for support in the election. In the previous year Oxford had been faced with the passing of the Test and Corporation Act in the same manner. This, however, was defended and passed on the ground that it would lead to nothing else. Peel was unsuccessful in this second instance. Newman, to the annoyance of Whately, reacted against the measure with the majority of the clergy at Oxford. Peel had outraged them. The University and Church would have looked ridiculous if they had obeyed when ordered by the government to change their views. Peel was defeated. His reaction, as seen in a letter to his mother at the time, clearly displays Newman's views on Church and State.

"We have achieved a glorious victory. It is the first public event I have been concerned in, and I thank God from my heart both for my cause and its success. We have proved the independence of the Church and of Oxford. So rarely is either of the two in opposition to Government, that not once in fifty years can independent principle be shown....

"Well the poor defenceless Church has borne the brunt of it, and I see in it the strength and unity of Churchmen." ¹⁸

Though this political event marked the end of Newman's friendship with Whately, this was not unfortunate, at least as far as the Oxford Movement was concerned. The end of this friendship was almost a necessity before Newman's relations with two other personalities could develop into anything significant. These other men, Richard Hurrell Froude and John Keble, were individuals who have been described as,

respectively, the original "impulse" and the "inspiration" of the Oxford Movement. 19

It was early in his career as a tutor at Oxford that Newman came to know Froude and Keble. In 1826, when Froude became a Fellow at Oriel, he and Newman began the friendship which was to lead to the Oxford Movement. When one considers his short life span it hardly seems possible that Froude should be called the impulse of the Movement. He was born in 1803, two years after Newman. He studied at Eton and Oriel, where he became the pupil of John Keble. After serving as a college tutor with Newman for three years, in 1831 his health failed, and he traveled with his colleague in southern Europe. After a brief return to England, during which the Oxford Movement was initiated, he was forced to spend the next few winters in the West Indies. He died at Dartington, his birthplace, early in 1836. With so much time spent abroad, followed by an early death, it might be thought Froude played little part in the Movement, but the opposite is the case. Dean Church wrote of Froude:

"It would be more true to say that with one exception no one was more responsible for the impulse which led to the movement; no one had more to do with shaping its distinct aims and its moral spiritual character in its first stage; no one was more daring and more clear, as far as he saw, in what he was prepared for There was no 'wasted shade' in Hurrell Froude's disabled prematurely shortened life." 20

Froude was a man of keen intellectual gifts, but from early youth he was troubled with a restless urge for action

which often tended toward mischief. Coming from an old-fashioned, authoritarian ecclesiastical home, which was deeply religious and sober, he carried these qualities over into the discipline of his own being and used them as a standard in measuring the rest of the world. In maturity he was forced to examine every motive of action as objectively as possible, carrying on a rigorous self discipline to keep himself in order as a servant of the will of God. Because he had such a difficult struggle conquering himself, he had little toleration or patience for self-deceit, indolence, or weakness in others. For this reason he found himself in constant opposition with what passed as religion around him. His harsh judgments, which were often expressed in an arrogant manner flavored with strong language, made many enemies and caused much embarrassment to the Oxford Movement. However, his characteristics and ideas were to play an important part in the lives of Newman and others associated with the Movement. Newman had this to say about his friend:

"He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, of sacerdotal power and of full ecclesiastical liberty. He felt scorn of the maxim, 'The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants;' and he gloried in accepting Tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching. He had a high severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of Virginity; and he considered the Blessed Virgin its great Pattern. He delighted in thinking of the Saints;...He had a deep devotion to the Real Presence, in which he had a firm faith. He was powerfully drawn to the Medieval Church, but not to the Primitive....

"He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fired deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence." 21

In spite of the evident, strong effect of the ideas of Froude on Newman, in his "Remains" Froude wrote, "Do you know the story of the murderer who had done one good thing in his life? Well, if I was ever asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say that I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other." ²² It was because of this role as a means of bringing or driving personalities together, either out of stimulating attraction or initiating reaction, that Froude came to be called the "impulse" of the Movement.

As is indicated above, John Keble was to play a very important part in bringing the Oxford Movement about. In his recollections of the early stages of the Movement one finds Newman saying, "July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostasy'. I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833." ²³ A contemporary historian, Dean Church, also places Keble in a prominent position in the Movement, referring to him as its "inspiration". ²⁴ Keble may truly be said to be the "inspiration" of the Movement, but more in the sense of an example of the ideal clergyman which it sought to produce, rather than the power of his ideas. It was not that his ideas were of no significance but rather that they were overshadowed by the beauty of his character, perhaps somewhat exceptional among the clergy at that time.

John Keble was the son of a Gloucestershire country clergyman of strong character. He was educated at home by his talented father, and sent to Oxford while still a young boy. He won so many intellectual honors that he soon became one of the most respected men at Oxford.²⁵ In all this he retained a reputation of modesty and simplicity. Evidence of this may be seen in his departure from Oxford at the height of his glory to begin his Christian service as his father's curate. There he led a very plain life of preaching and service to the poor.²⁶ John Keble was a deeply convinced churchman. The formal dignity of the Prayer Book served as his pattern of doctrine and devotion. This led to an inevitable dislike of the teachings of the more popular Evangelical Christianity, for he was intensely loyal to the Church of England and to all who had shared in her service. Any person professing principles hostile to her teachings might count him an enemy to be respected greatly. He was, in short, a thorough High Churchman and a strong Tory. The political developments of the early nineteenth century were bound to cause a reaction in a man of this nature.

But John Keble was a quiet man, a mixture of a brilliant university scholar and a plain country parson. His Assize Sermon of 1833 seems almost out of character, affirming more the intense concern among the clergy over the conditions of the time rather than being a revelation of Keble's personal characteristics. Keble served largely as a symbol of the Movement, a banner to be carried by Froude and Newman

rather than personally entering the battle as a sword swinging warrior. However, his ideas did play a part in the action.

Newman credits Keble as having brought two important intellectual truths home to him.

"The first of these was what may be called, ...the Sacramental system; that is the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen--a doctrine which embraces in its fullness, ...the articles of 'the Communion of Saints;' and likewise the Mysteries of the faith." 27

The second of these two truths had to do with the doctrine of probability as the guide of life. Keble gave Newman new faith in God in a concept of probability enforced by faith and love. Newman reasoned that "certitude was a habit of mind, that certainty was a quality of proposition; that probabilities which did not reach to logical certainty, might suffice for a mental certitude; that the certitude thus brought about might equal in measure and strength the certitude which was created by the strictest scientific demonstration;...." 28 Thus Keble may be seen to have influenced Newman in two vital matters.

The previously recorded influences on Newman include most of those which determined the nature and direction of the early Oxford Movement. Before continuing further it will be of advantage to review and gather them into a single synthesis that one might more clearly see how the development of the Movement was greatly determined by the character of John Henry Newman.

From his early youth Newman has been seen to be an imaginative idealist, his imagination at times carrying him into superstition. While a student he became acquainted with some of the more liberal Protestant ideas of Christianity, after which he turned in admiration to a study of the primitive Church. This was followed by a gradual change in doctrine from those of liberal Protestantism to those of High Church Anglicanism, evident in his exchange of the Scriptures for Tradition as the basis for his theological doctrines. He also gained respect for the doctrine of Apostolic succession. Through other influences he came to believe the Church was a Divinely appointed society independent of the State in rights and property and he looked more critically towards the Reformation and more favorably towards the Church of Rome. Through Keble he realized the meaning and value of the Sacraments, and, through his doctrine of Probability as the guide to life, he came to have a new and stronger faith in God and each of the previously mentioned convictions. All of these set Newman in direct contrast to the trends of the times and made his life-service, which was expressed as the Oxford Movement, a direct opposition to the general trend of expression in his century.

We have considered some of the ideas which influenced the views of John Henry Newman. No statement of ideas, however, fully explains how circumstances develop into a series of events which in turn become a dynamic entity as was the Oxford Movement.

For this reason it is necessary to consider the mechanical processes which resulted in the particular intermingling of ideas which became the Movement which is the object of this study.

One of the expressions of the time which enabled Newman to transform some of his ideas into action was a movement towards universal education by many groups and organizations in the country. Newman described the contemporary system under the supervision of the Church in a letter to his mother as "bigoted and prejudiced against free enquiry." 29 His response to the situation took the form of an idea which became the foundation of the Movement. His friend, Thomas Mozley, recorded it as follows:

"Newman felt that he had those about him that heard his voice, that were sensible of his guidance and grateful for it.

"This was Oriel College, many a University friend, and the congregation that flocked to St. Mary's. What if he then conceived the idea of forming the college, of reviving the college of Adam de Broome, or of Laud, or of making it such as they would have made it in the present altered circumstances? What if he dreamt of a large body of resident Fellows taking various parts in education, some not very much part, pursuing their own studies and exchanging daily assistance in brotherly love and confidence....Newman had now been Fellow six years--a long time at Oxford. He had seen considerable changes, and had Froude and R. Wilberforce at his right hand, both ready to go through fire and water with him,...

"So far as I can remember, from my election at Easter, 1829, to Newman's return from the Mediterranean at Midsummer, 1833, this main idea,...was the reconstruction of the college in the old statutory lines." 30

In Michaelmas term, 1829, Newman began to put this idea into practice. He met with other Fellows and Probationers twice a week for the study of Scriptures. Discussions were held on various popular issues and many important convictions were formed.³¹ Mr. Hugh James Rose, who had an interest in a plan similar to that which Newman was putting into practice, was attracted to the group and asked Newman to write for his Theological Library, the expression of the plan that Rose had developed. Newman's contribution was to be a "History of the Principal Councils" of the early Church.³² The study and preparation for this thesis came at a time which later made the ideas derived from it a vital part of the Oxford Movement.

Newman states in his Apologia Pro Vita Sua that this study "was to launch myself on an ocean with currents innumerable;..."³³ It turned him again to his beloved early Church Fathers and re-emphasized old convictions drawn from their writings.³⁴ Of special significance among them was the doctrine of Apostolic succession. The extent to which he was enamored of the early Church may be seen from the following quotations from his letters.

"Now it would be a most useful thing to give a kind of summary of their opinions....--not to bring them to us, but to go to them.... If, then, in a calm, candid, impartial manner their views were sought out and developed, would not the effect be good in a variety of ways?"³⁵

"if anyone will show me any opinion of mine which the Primitive Church condemned, I will renounce it; any which it ~~did~~ not insist on, I will not insist on it." ³⁶

The refreshment of these views with new vigor came immediately before Newman's situation was altered, thrusting him into the circumstances which produced the Oxford Movement. In line with his scheme of restoring the college to almost monastic conditions, he, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce proposed improvements in the course of lectures, selection of books, formation of classes, and a more intimate relationship of tutor and pupils. Throughout 1829 and 1830 they forced these upon Hampden, the Provost of the college.³⁷ Finally, fearing radical changes, Hampden forced Newman from his position as tutor. This led to the trip to the Mediterranean and the initiation of the Oxford Movement which was brought about on his return.³⁸

Immediately before, and all during, Newman's trip with Froude to the Mediterranean, the Church became more and more concerned about the threat of Liberalism. The advance of the aggressor became so noticeable as to be labeled the Universal Movement of 1831 and 1832. Thomas Mozley in reflection states that every party, religious, political, or otherwise, was pushing for "universal acceptance," that is, except for the Church of England.³⁹

and Rituals 'to meet the spirit of the age;' that is to please the Dissenters and sceptics who then in the ascendent, openly proclaimed in both houses of Parliament;--" 42

And how much more secure seemed the position of the State with which the Church was so closely associated?

"the King,...having to deal outside of his palace with mobs, who by the most brutal gestures to his face declared themselves to be thirsting for his blood,...and who were headed by the descendants of the regicides of the seventeenth century, who...declared their readiness to repeat the deed of their ancestors; while within his palace, he had for his only counsellor, one, who,...had been the only member of the English House of Commons who refused to appear in mourning on the murder of Louis XVI, and who, at the very time of which we are speaking, when the English mob and the descendants of English regicides were demanding his master's life, had declared in his place in the House of Lords, that 'in this free country he did not like to use the term monarchy;' --and the House of Lords, meanwhile, the last earthly prop of the constitution,...yielding to the storm like a reed that bends. Such was the state, and such the prospects of our Church and nation, when the Conference at Hadleigh was held; and a few insignificant clergymen determined to endeavor, by the foolishness of the Church principles, to stem the torrent of ruin before which all other defences had proved powerless." 43

This then was the situation as Newman found it on his return. This was the work of the mighty force of Liberalism which he was to meet in battle. When Newman arrived, he did not find the security of the Church completely untended. A movement had already stirred in opposition to the force which threatened the Church.⁴⁴ Newman had arrived on Tuesday, July 9th, to find a new attack on the Church. Ten Irish bishoprics were suppressed without recourse to the consideration or consent of the Church. On the following Sunday an event occurred, the significance of which is recorded by Newman:

"July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostasy.' I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833." ⁴⁵

Not only had this act of Parliament stirred the docile Mr. Keble to accuse his national Government of apostasy, but it stimulated simultaneous letters from many different clergymen urging an organized protest.⁴⁶ Among these were communications between the group of Newman's colleagues at Oxford and an important personality on the national religious scene.⁴⁷ The result was the conference at Mr. Hugh James Rose's parsonage at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. This marked the first formal union of the men at Oxford and the clergy throughout the nation in a joint attempt to resist the growing threat against the Church. At last the clergy had initiated actions which were to result in a significant consideration of their state of affairs and problems. It was in this meeting at Hadleigh that the Oxford Movement had its beginnings.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 32.
2. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 318.
3. John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua: A History of his Religious Opinions (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1882), pp. 1-2.
4. Ibid., p. 4.
5. Ibid., p. 7.
6. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891), I, 126-127.
7. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 7.
8. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 120-121.
9. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 9.
10. Ibid., p. 9.
11. Ibid., p. 10.
12. Ibid., p. 11.
13. Ibid., p. 13.
14. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 267-268.
15. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 13.
16. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 109.
17. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 14-16.
See Also, Elie Halevy, A History of the English People 1830-1841, pp. 148-149 and Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 140-141.

18. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 202-203.

19. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 32.

20. Ibid., p. 36.

21. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 24-25.
Also, Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 59.

22. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 35.

24. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 32.

25. Ibid., p. 24.

26. Ibid.

27. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 18.

28. Ibid., pp. 19-21.

29. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 204-205.

30. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 142-143.

31. Ibid., I, 176-177.

32. Ibid., I, 247-248.

33. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 26.

34. Ibid., pp. 26-31.

35. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 143.

36. Ibid., II, 112.

37. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 230-234.

38. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 148, 160.

39. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 272-275.

40. Ibid., p. 297.

41. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 34-35.

42. Arthur Philip Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833 (London: Gilbert and Rivington, Printers, 1842), pp. 25-26.

43. Ibid.

44. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 36-37.
Also, Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 33.

45. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 35. For a more complete discussion see Arthur P. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, pp. 27-37.

46. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, p. 8.

47. Ibid.
Also, John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 38.

CHAPTER V

MATURITY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Having considered the circumstances which led up to the Oxford Movement, one comes next to the Movement itself. Contrary to what might be supposed, at first the Oxford Movement was not given this name. Its chief manifestation was the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" after which it was called the Tractarian Movement. Later on its expression was expanded to include other activities which originated largely from Oxford University. It was through this that it was given its more popular name. Of first concern, then, is the development of the Tracts.

Because of confused recollections as to what happened at Hadleigh, it is perhaps safest to say that a plan of "Association" was the only definite program of action it produced.¹ The attempt to bring this about with the help of those at Oxford led to differences and a division of the group. There was a question as to the union of Church and State and whether forming an association was the best policy to pursue.² Keble and Froude were for separation. Another important early member of the group, William Palmer, supported the existing relationship of Church and State with enhanced prestige of the Church.³

Newman, fearing for the survival of the Church if the support of the Government should be removed abruptly, and perhaps for other unrecorded reasons, temporarily allied himself with Palmer on this issue.⁴ The problem of "Association," however, demanded immediate decision and action. This issue was to determine the alignment of the men and the nature of the Movement struggling for life.

The representatives of religion outside of Oxford, William Palmer, Arthur Perceval, and Hugh James Rose, were for associating in defense of the Church, whereas Newman, Keble, and Froude would have action by no organization smaller than the entire Church.⁵ As a result, the latter united in a program which produced the "Tracts for the Times" which became the core of the Movement. As a temporary measure, however, Newman distracted the ambitions of Palmer, who was the chief advocate of the plan for "Association," by urging him to prepare a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a plea for united action in defense of the Church.⁶ This Palmer did with the signatures of seven thousand clergymen. This was soon followed up with a similar lay address.⁷ About the same time Perceval presented his famous "Churchman's Manual" for the sanction of the Archbishop. This was a statement of positive elements, formerly neglected because of fear of popery, intended as a supplement to the Catechism.⁸ Nothing in it was found contrary to the doctrines of the Church, in fact many clergymen were impressed and found it useful, but official sanction was withheld

on "general grounds." ⁹ Except for the Tracts, this was the last of the major developments stemming directly from the meeting at Hadleigh.

In contrast to the cautious approaches to a solution of the problem facing the Church which were just considered, Newman felt:

"though associations and addresses might be very well, what the Church and the clergy and the country wanted was plain speaking; and that plain speaking could not be got by any papers put forth as joint manifestoes, or with the revision and sanction of 'safe' and 'judicious' advisers. It was necessary to write, and to write as each man felt: and he determined that each man should write and speak for himself, though working in concert and sympathy with others towards the supreme end ¹⁰ the cause and interests of the Church."

John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, Benjamin Harrison of Christ Church, Isaac Williams of Trinity, J. F. Christie, Frederick Rogers, Thomas Mozley, the Wilberforces of Oriel, Samuel Richards, Hugh James Rose, and Arthur Perceval joined with him in this opinion.¹¹ Transformed into actions, their thoughts became the "Tracts for the Times."

Though no unifying plan of action had been developed at Hadleigh, common ends were established. The general concern was to restore the Church to a more favorable position, both in the minds of the people, and in relation to the State. The suppression of the Irish Sees gave immediate prominence to the Church - State consideration. So long dependent upon

the Government, what was the tottering old Church to do when its supports were pulled away?¹² The solution resorted to by the group was that to be found in Froude's letter to Newman the day after the conference.

"the most important subject to which you can direct your reading at present, is the meaning of canonical obedience, which we have all sworn to our bishops; for that is likely to be the only support of Church government when the state refuses to support it." ¹³

This in turn suggested emphasis of the doctrine of Apostolic succession.¹⁴ Newman immediately directed their attention to his favorite study, the primitive Christian Church.

"The common design supposed in this conversation,...was a second Reformation of a reactionary character to bring back the Anglican Church to the faith and practice of that Primitive Church which all had on their lips, and few indeed knew much about. Whatever people may assume to be the Primitive Church, the Anti-Nicene Church, one point all must agree upon. That Church was not a State Church: it did not affect to be one with the empire, or to recognize as its actual members all human beings within a certain territory." ¹⁵

In line with their second aim, to regain the respect of the people by resisting the infringement of dissenting religious organizations, the group that had been associated, in one way or another, with the Hadleigh conference agreed upon "the preservation in its integrity of the Christian doctrine in... [their] ...prayerbooks,...." ¹⁶ Thus, in summary, the principles decided upon at Hadleigh to restore the Church to

What was supposed to be an advantageous position were:

"first the firm and practical maintenance of the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession so grievously outraged by the Irish Church Act. Secondly, the preservation in its integrity of the Christian doctrine in our prayer books, with a view to avert the Socinian leaven with which we had reason to fear it would be tainted,...." 17

The above mentioned ideas were the major ones around which the early stages of the Movement were formed, and since the "Tracts for the Times" were the means, these were the chief subjects to be found in them. Just how were these associated with Newman to allocate to him the dominant role in the Movement? Part of the answer lies in the obvious fact that these points were among those which he had constantly emphasized in the past. The remainder is partly disclosed in two other considerations. The first is that Newman was best prepared to present the ideas of the group in the form agreed upon. Not only had he been producing similar works for the "Record" for some time,¹⁸ but he, of all those in the group, had been the one who had read most of the tracts put out in criticism of the Church and was thus most familiar with their form.¹⁹ Thus, Newman was singled out, more by circumstances than by the election of his friends, to carry on most of the work involved in producing the Tracts.²⁰ This placed him in a position which enabled him to present another idea, which, when accepted by the group, resulted in his being raised to an even more prominent position, leaving

no question as to his leadership of the Movement. Newman had never given up his ambition to restore the University to its former state of affairs and the Movement did need a center of action or headquarters.

"I do not think we have yet made as much as we ought of our situation at Oxford, and of the deference paid to it through the country. Are not many eyes looking towards us everywhere, not as 'masters and scholars,' but as residents, so that all our acts, as coming from the University, might have the authority of a vote of Convocation almost, in such cases as when Convocation cannot be expected to speak out?" 21

Thus did what had been known up until this time as the Tractarian Movement become the Oxford Movement.

After this decision had been made, as has been stated, through the Tracts, Newman became the leader of the Movement, and as he became the editor of the Tracts, its center was transferred to Oxford. Many of the contributing writers were from Oxford, and Keble was chief advisor and censor of the Tracts, all of which increased Oxford's position as the center of activity.²² From the University the Tracts were distributed throughout the country at very low cost. At first they were sent largely to members of the clergy, but they soon became so popular as to be sold to laymen. The response to them brought public attention, and, eventually, world reknown to the Oxford Movement.²³

The first of the Tracts were brief statements of the dangerous position of the Church in the existing Church - State

relationship with an appeal to its friends to consider their situation seriously. The following excerpt is a typical example of the form and message of the early Tracts.

"Now then let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the Government and Country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honors and substance, on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connexions; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's Ministers depend? Is this not a serious practical question?" 24.

The second Tract, in addition to illustrating their general nature, expresses some of the feelings of the group about the relationship of Church and State.

"It is sometimes said, that the clergy should abstain from politics; and that if a Minister of Christ is political, he is not following him who said, 'My Kingdom is not of this world.' Now there is a sense in which this is true, but, as it is commonly taken, it is very false.

"It is true that the mere affairs of this world would not engage a Clergyman; but it is absurd to say that the affairs of this world should not at all engage his attention. If so, this world is not a preparation for another. Are we to speak when individuals sin and not when a nation, which is but a collection of individuals?...

"There is an unexceptional sense in which a clergyman may, nay, must be political. And above all when that Nation interferes with the rights and possessions of the Church, it can with even less grace complain of the Church interfering with the Nation.

"With this introduction call your attention to what seems a most dangerous infringement on our rights, on the part of the State. The Legislature has lately taken upon itself to remodel the dioceses of Ireland;

a proceeding which involved the appointment of certain Bishops over certain Clergy, and of certain clergy under certain Bishops, without the Church being consulted in the matter. I do not say whether or not harm will follow from this particular act with reference to Ireland; but consider whether it be not in itself an interference with things spiritual.

"Are we content to be accounted the mere creation of the State,...?"²⁵

This subject is continued in more detail in Tract No. 59.

"The Bishops, everyone of them are, as a matter of fact, appointed by the Prime Minister for the time being, who, since the repeal of the Test Act, may be an avowed Socinian, or even Atheist. A very large proportion of other Church benefices, carrying with them cure of souls, are likewise in the hands of the Prime Minister or of the Lord Chancellor and other Lay Patrons, who, like him, may be of any or no religion. So much for the hands in which these appointments are vested:"²⁶

At this point Newman continued to consider the checks which the Church had over the appointments of the State. He explained that formerly there were three possible instances in which checks might be applied. The first of these was an Election on the part of the Collegiate Body attached to the vacant See. The second was Confirmation, a process in which anyone who had objections to the nomination might make them known at a time appointed by the Archbishop. The third was in Consecration by the Archbishop, who might at this time refuse to accept the nomination "uncontrolled by any law, and responsible to no earthly tribunal."²⁷ In the nineteenth century, Newman states:

"Election, Confirmation, Consecration, instead of being rendered more efficient checks than formerly, are now so arranged as to offer the least possible hindrance to the most exceptional appointments of a godless ministry."²⁸

Election had been altered to give the Church only eight days to consider the States nomination. If they failed to elect in this time, election became unnecessary and the Crown merely "Presented" his candidate without it. Newman continues:

"And now the Dean and Chapter have eight days given them, and the Archbishop twenty for reflection; if within these periods the former fails to go through the form of election, and the latter to consecrate, both parties subject themselves to the pains and penalties of a Praemunire, i.e. all their goods, ecclesiastical and personal, are liable to confiscation, and themselves to imprisonment till such time as they submit....and thus as the law now exists we have actually no check on the appointments...and the laws of England (it must be confessed with sorrow) watch so jealously over the interests of these patrons, and so little over those of the Church, that they compel the Bishops, except in cases so outrageous that they can hardly ever occur, to accept at once of the person first Presented to them, and to commit the cure of souls to him by the process of Institution." 29

Expand these excerpts by a few pages and one has a fair picture of the nature of the famous Tracts. The Tracts, however, although perhaps the most important, were not the only expression of the Movement.

Of great importance in attracting attention to the cause of the Tractarians were Newman's sermons at St. Mary's.³⁰ The students at Oxford preferred him to the University preachers, and men of stature in the Church came from great distances to hear him.³¹ The ideas of the Movement were also expressed through ~~their~~ letters and personal visits to anyone of importance or interest.³² Large groups of clergy held meetings to decide whether to join or condemn the work of the Oxford group, and smaller crowds of laymen gathered here and there to discuss the points

of interest in the Tracts. Many new personalities were attracted and the group expanded until it included Thomas Mozley, Frederick Rogers, J.F. Christie, Henry Wilberforce, R. Wilson, William Froude, Robert Williams, Samuel F. Wood, James Bliss, James Mozley, Henry Woodgate of St. John, Isaac Williams, and W. J. Copeland of Trinity, in addition to those previously mentioned.³³ Among those attracted was one who was to alter the nature and direction of the Movement and eventually challenge Newman's position as its leader. This man was Edward Bouverie Fusey.

In its earliest stages the Oxford Movement was not the product of a deliberate plan. The forms of its expression were mere unpremeditated responses to immediate crises. In recollection Froude remarks, "I felt as on a vessel, which first gets under weigh, and then clears out the deck, and stores away luggage and livestock into their proper receptacles." ³⁴ The result was scattered letters and pamphlets by various authors which eventually were channeled through Newman's hands and became the Tracts. Even then they were hastily prepared commentaries treating any matter which might chance to stimulate the writer.³⁵ Newman himself observed of the Tracts, "These at first starting were short, hasty, and some of them ineffective; and at the end of the year, when collected into a volume they had a slovenly appearance."³⁶

As has been illustrated, circumstance directed the order of the subjects treated. The suppression of the Irish bishoprics

brought the Church - State question to the front, which in turn led to the question of Apostolic succession, then to the primitive Church and on to a variety of subjects. The expressions of the Oxford group had become so varied that unity had disappeared and with it all sense of order, purpose, and direction. Thomas Mozley made the following comment:

"Certainly very few of us could say where we meant to stop or what we had in view as the future of the Church of England. For my own part, I never knew where it was all to end, except somewhere in the first three centuries of the Church, and I have to confess that I knew very little indeed about them." 37

This was a typical expression of many of the members of the Movement when Pusey first began to exert his influence.³⁸

"He at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had little chance,...of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connexion, and his easy relations with University authorities.... There was henceforth a man who could be the head and centre of the zealous people in every part of the country, who were adopting the new opinions; and not only so, but there was one who furnished the Movement with a front to the world,...." 39

This was the external and general effect of Pusey on the Oxford Movement but the internal was even more significant.

As soon as Pusey entered the Movement alteration began to appear. The Tracts that Newman had produced had done their job.⁴⁰ They had started men thinking. But this was

not enough. There was little yet of weight and substance to the materials presented.⁴¹ There was a need for "more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility in the Tracts and in the whole Movement."⁴² With Pusey all these were to be added.

"He observed that when attention had been roused to the ancient doctrines of the Church by the startling and peremptory language of the earlier Tracts, fairness and justice demanded that these doctrines should be fully and carefully explained and defended against misrepresentation and mistake. Forgetfulness and ignorance had thrown these doctrines so completely into the shade that, identified as they were with the best English divinity, they now wore the air of amazing novelties; and it was only due to honest inquirers to satisfy them with solid and adequate proof." ⁴³

In the attempt to express their viewpoints more thoroughly, Pusey, now regarded as their leader, had directed the men of the Movement to produce lengthy theological treatises.⁴⁴ From short pamphlets, the Tracts had been transformed into volumes of over one hundred pages in some cases.⁴⁵ The subjects considered included, in addition to others, baptism⁴⁶, fasting ⁴⁷, prayer ⁴⁸, and liturgy. ⁴⁹ All of these had been interpreted so as to establish a clearly defined Via Media.

In effect Pusey's acceptance of the leadership of the Oxford Movement was to redirect it completely. Up until the time of his entrance, the Movement had been concerned with the problem of the relationship of Church and State. On the

basis of the doctrine of Apostolic succession, the Tractarians had argued that the Anglican Church was an entity independent of the State, with rights of its own. But with Pusey came the recognition of the need to describe just what the Anglican Church was before it could expect to challenge, with any practical results, its existing relationship with the State. As will be seen, with the doctrine of Catholicity as the basis for its claims the Movement then had set about discussing various doctrines in the determination of the theological position of the Anglican Church which came to be called the Via Media.

In spite of the rise of Pusey, Newman still played an important part. In 1836 he published Tract No. 71. In this paper he compared the Anglican and Roman Churches and discussed their differences.⁵⁰ His general conclusion was that there were faults in the Anglican Church as well as the Roman and he urged his fellow clergymen to deal with their own "shortcomings" before attempting "to be physicians to anyone else."⁵¹ This Tract began to stir the old fear of "Romism" and the old cry of "Popery" sent honest thinkers scuttling for their holes once more. But Newman heeded not "the signs of the time." He continued writing and everything seemed to be proceeding favorably, that is until the publication of Tract No. 90.⁵²

In his study of the relationship of the Anglican and Roman Churches, Newman was determined to be objective.⁵³ As of yet, the Via Media of the Anglican Church was still a matter

of ecclesiastical argument, rather than of universal agreement, and Newman sought to describe it as carefully and accurately as possible. Concerning this Via Media, Newman observed:

"it was not as yet objective and real; it had no original anywhere of which it was the representative. It was at present a paper religion.... 'It still remains to be tried, whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism, ... is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action, or whether it be a mere modification or transition-state of either Romanism or popular Protestantism.' I trusted that some day it would prove to be a substantive religion." 54

However, in addition to those who disliked Newman's strong criticism of the Anglican theological position, there were many among the clergy who disliked the Via Media itself.⁵⁵ Newman's Bishop requested that he "keep these men straight." 56 Since the immediate difficulty of the men was subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, Newman had no choice but to consider this basic statement of Church doctrine.⁵⁷ And thus Tract No. 90 was brought forth.

In his study in preparation for the thesis Newman sought first to define clearly what might be meant by "Roman doctrine," a concept which had almost as many variations of interpretation as there were people in England at the time. His research resulted in the following conclusion:

"By 'Roman doctrine' might be meant one of three things; 1, the Catholic teaching of the early centuries; or 2, the formal dogmas of Rome as continued in the later Councils, especially the Council of Trent, and as condensed in the Creed of Pope Pius IV; 3, the actual popular beliefs and usages sanctioned by Rome in the countries in communion with it, over and above the dogmas; and these I called 'dominant errors.'" 58

It was Newman's belief that the Via Media, as intended by the Anglican Church founders, was established merely in objection to the third of these interpretations of the "Roman doctrine." The fear of "Popery" and the glorification of "Protestantism" had misrepresented and obscured the true differences between Romanism and Anglicanism and this Newman set about to correct, also deliberately attempting to show that there was not so much difference between the two positions as laymen commonly supposed.⁵⁹

"The main thesis then of my Essay was this:-- the Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching; they but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome. And the problem was to draw the line as to what they allowed and what they condemned." ⁶⁰

To support the thesis he had chosen, Newman made a study of the origin of the thirty-nine Articles to determine what had been expected to be accomplished through them at the time of their composition. At that time the English idea of "Popery" was not a religious doctrine but a political principle.⁶¹ The main question was the supremacy of the Pope over local authorities. The compilers did not intend to describe a narrow theological position when they composed the Articles; on the contrary, under the direction of the Government, they were designed to attract the "Popists" to the Anglican position.⁶² For this reason the Articles were drawn up to permit both the reformers and Catholics to subscribe to them; for example,

"A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state papers in such moderate language, that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them, without compromising his own principles." 63

Newman found additional support for his thesis in the admonitions of the very Convocation which received and confirmed the thirty-nine Articles.

"preachers should be careful that they should never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine." 64

Thus Newman discovered considerable material in agreement with his thesis and he published Tract No. 90 with the general conclusion that the Articles were consistent with Catholic faith, and he therefore protested against further relaxation of submission to them. 65

As might be supposed, there was a loudly expressed popular condemnation of Tract No. 90. Even at Oxford, disapproval was voiced. 66 At first Newman was asked to withdraw the Tract. 67 This he refused because it would have associated him with the Protestant position. Next, he was asked to keep silent and not defend the Tract. 68 When the Bishop joined in this latter request, Newman complied, and withdrew from the center of action. 69 This not only signified the end of Newman's part as a public leader in the Oxford Movement, but also marked one of the Movement's first and most important defeats and the beginning of its dissolution.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 104.
2. Ibid., p. 105.
3. Ibid. For further discussion see also Arthur P. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, p. 12 and Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 444.
4. For Newman's views on the Church - State relationship at this time see Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 105 and Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, pp. 204-205, 445, 450, 465-466.
5. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 105-107.
6. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 468-469.
7. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 107.
8. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, pp. 20-26, 51-53.
9. Ibid., pp. 44-50.
Also, R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 126.
10. Ibid., p. 109.
11. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 482.
12. Ira Warren, The Causes and the Cure of Puseyism (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1847), pp. 71-72.
13. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 438.
14. At this time the doctrine was interpreted to mean the succession of Sees as well as of ministers of Christ. For further explanation see Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 309-310; and Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 484.

15. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 393.
Also, Arthur Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, p. 13.

16. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, pp. 10-11.

17. Ibid.

18. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 306-307.

19. Ibid., I, 312-313.

20. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 471-479.

21. Ibid., I, 440.
Also, Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 311.

22. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 475; II, 268.

23. For a discussion of the repercussions of the Oxford Movement in foreign countries see Arthur Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, pp. 6-7, and Ira Warren, The Causes and the Cure of Puseyism, pp. 10-11.

24. John Henry Newman, ed., Tracts For the Times By Members of the University of Oxford (London: Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, 1833-1841), I, No. 1, 1.

25. Ibid., I, No. 2, 1-2.

26. Ibid., II, No. 59, 4-7.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 316.
Also, R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 129-130.

31. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 137.

32. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 119.

33. Ibid., p. 131.

34. Richard Hurrell Froude, Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude (London: Rivingtons, 1838), I, 265.
Also, Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 111.

35. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 59-60.

36. Ibid., p. 60.

37. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 409.

38. For a more complete discussion see Arthur Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, p. 14 and R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 132.

39. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 61.

40. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 132.

41. Ibid., p. 133.

42. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 62.

43. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 135.

44. Newman, Tracts For the Times By Members of the University of Oxford, I, Advertisement, 1.

45. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 136.

46. Newman, Tracts For the Times By Members of the University of Oxford, II, No. 67, No. 69.

47. Ibid., No. 66.

48. Ibid., No. 72.

49. Ibid., No. 63, No. 64.

50. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 65.

51. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 71.
52. Ibid., pp. 75-76.
53. Ibid., p. 66.
54. Ibid., pp. 68-69.
55. Warren, The Causes and the Cure of Puseyism, pp. 15-18.
56. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 78.
57. Newman, Tracts For the Times by Members of the University of Oxford, VI, No. 90, 2.
58. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 78.
59. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
- Also, Ira Warren, The Causes and the Cure of Puseyism, pp. 148-177.
60. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 79-80.
61. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
62. Ibid.
63. Newman, Tracts For the Times By Members of the University of Oxford, VI, No. 90, 80-83.
64. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 85.
65. Newman, Tracts For the Times By Members of the University of Oxford, VI, No. 90, 2.
66. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 88.
67. Ibid., pp. 89-90.
68. Ibid.
69. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 259-264.

CHAPTER VI

DISSOLUTION OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The publication of Tract No. 90 marked the beginning of the dissolution of the Oxford Movement. In general, up until this time circumstances proceeded favorably for the Movement; much of England was astir over it. According to Newman:

"If we inquire what the world thought of it, we have still more to raise our wonder; for not to mention the excitement it caused in England, the Movement and its party-names were known to police of Italy and to the backwoodmen of America. And so it proceeded, getting stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the Nation, and that Church of the Nation, which it began by professing especially to serve." ¹

When the Movement finally forced the judgment of the Anglican Church and the Nation upon it, as had been done in effect by the publication of Tract No. 90, it had made its appeal for a final sentence of life and death. The sentence was pronounced, making the remainder of the story of the Movement merely a matter of describing its minor expressions and the fates of the individuals involved.²

Prior to 1841, the members of the Movement had sought as many opportunities to express their views as possible. In some cases they created their own. One of the most fruitful areas of opportunity proved to be the campus politics of Oxford

University. Not only did the men of the Movement make use of campus controversy to help enhance their prestige, but it proved to be such an effective area that after 1841 the enemies of the Tractarians followed their example and used it to bring about the final dissolution of the Oxford Movement.

One of the first of the instances of the use of campus controversy was that centered around Dr. Hampden, Provost of Oriel, which was initiated by the Tractarians in 1836. Dr. Hampden was one of the earliest Liberals to hold one of the more influential positions in the Anglican Church. An enemy of the Tractarians from the beginning of the Movement, in 1834 he published the pamphlet "Observations on Religious Dissent," which criticized the use of "Religious Tests" in the University. In opposition to the view of the Tractarians, he claimed that creeds "were but opinions, for which a man could not be answerable" and suggested that the University abolish subscription to the thirty-nine Articles.³ At a later date he expressed his radical views even more extensively in his Bampton Lectures.⁴ Thus, when Hampden became Regius Professor of Divinity, the Tractarians organized a movement to have him condemned as a danger to the Church. Convocation was summoned and Hampden was condemned, the first instance in a long time in which an appointment of the Crown had been challenged and overruled by representatives of the Church.⁵ The Oxford Movement had gained a victory in this first struggle at the University, but it

shall be seen that perhaps this precedent was not so fortunate after all.

The next major campus controversy did not come until after the publication of Tract No. 90. It was unexpected, being the first of what was to be a series of defeats for the Oxford Movement, initiated by the enemies of the Tractarians. The struggle developed out of a contest for the Poetry Professorship which Keble had vacated. Isaac Williams, a Tractarian, and a Mr. Garbett of Brasenose were the competitors for the position. Because rumors were abroad that authorities of Brasenose were about to make a theological contest out of it, Pusey sent out a circular asking support for Williams on the grounds that he would make his office a ministry of religious truth.⁶ Dr. Gilbert, the Principal of Garbett's college, immediately countered with a statement that he was quite willing that the contest should include theological considerations and welcomed the opportunity to point out the dangers of the teaching with which Pusey had identified Williams.⁷ The battle had begun. A war of pamphlets and debates followed until the climactic decision of Convocation gave Garbett a majority of three to two, and Isaac Williams withdrew.⁸ The Tractarians had been beaten. This was their first taste of defeat as a party, but not their last. Others were soon to follow.

While the struggle for the Poetry Professorship had been going on, other matters of extreme importance to the individual concerns of the Oxford Movement leaders had come about. In

cooperation with the newly organized State Church of Prussia, the English Church had established an Anglo-Prussian bishopric at Jerusalem. Of those affected, Newman perhaps reacted the strongest. By this time he had retired from public attention to a parish at Littlemore. Thus, Newman's strong reaction, even in partial retirement, illustrates clearly that though the Oxford Movement had been largely redirected by Fusey, its leaders were still greatly concerned over the relationship of the Church to the State.

The purpose of the English Church in setting up a co-operative bishopric with Prussia in Jerusalem was the hope that she might win the favor of the newly established State Church of Prussia and eventually bring about a close alliance between the two.⁹ Though to some this seemed a wise move, to Newman and others of the Oxford Movement it was in direct opposition to their attempt to separate what was of the Anglican Church from what was not, whether it be the State or religious sects. In a letter to J. W. Bowden in October of 1841 Newman expresses some of his views on the subject.

"for the sake of Prussia, he [the Bishop] is to take under him all the foreign Protestants who will come; and the political advantages will be so great from the influence of England that there is no doubt they will come. They are to sign the Confession of Augsburg, and there is nothing to show that they hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Next, the Socinian-Mahomedan Druses have asked for an English Bishop, and it is supposed Bishop Alexander will develop in that direction. Lastly, there is a notion of coalescing with the Monophysites.

"The Bishop, who has no Church principles, is not to be made under the jurisdiction of the English Bishops, and thus you have an Episcopate set up to gather, literally, Jews, Turks (i.e., Druses), infidels and heretics from all quarters (i.e., without conversion). And why? Because, Russia being represented by the Greeks, and France by the Latins, it is very desirable that England should have a Church there as a means of political influence, a resident power in the country.... Many persons are doubtful whether we have the Notes of the true Church upon us; every act of the Church, such as this coalescing with heretics, weakens the proof. And in some cases it may be the last straw that breaks the horse's back." 10

And so for Newman this was a kind of "last straw," for in his later reflections about his conversion, he distinguishes this act as among the first of the many which caused him to leave the Anglican Church.¹¹ For others of the Movement also, this had a strong effect on their respect for their Church. The Oxford Movement had been defeated once more.

The success of the opponents of the Oxford Movement in the contest of the Poetry Professorship gave them new courage in the area of campus politics. Again Dr. Hampden was to be the center of controversy, this time in an attempt to repeal his disqualification of 1836. Unfortunately, for the opponents of the Oxford Movement, they chose a cause which was to yield no victory even though it resulted in harm to the Tractarians. In spite of the objection of many who heard of the plan, Hampden pressed his cause until it was rejected by Convocation in a humiliating defeat.¹² Dr. Hampden could not accept this degradation without some form of retaliation. It was unfortunate for all involved that his revenge was not a noble one.

When a Mr. Macmullen, a known Tractarian, applied for his Bachelor of Divinity degree, Dr. Hampden suspended the normal procedure of fulfilling the requirements and revived a long-forgotten University statute which enabled him to prevent the man from receiving the degree.¹³ Macmullen, however, after two or three years controversy over the matter, appealed his case to the University Court of Delegates and received his degree.¹⁴ This additional humiliation of Dr. Hampden caused him to throw all caution to the winds. His reaction was to have very important repercussions, for it resulted in the condemnation of Dr. Pusey and his removal from the leadership of the Oxford Movement.

Pusey had continuously sought to avoid controversy. In this attempt he had preached a sermon on the Holy Eucharist in May, 1843, in which he hoped to soften some of the effects of a former work on baptism. The sermon was strictly within the theological limits of High Anglicanism.¹⁵ It was quite a surprise to the University when a short time later a Dr. Faussett announced that he had "delated" the sermon to the Vice-Chancellor as being heretical. Oxford was even more surprised to find that the Vice-Chancellor, the official charged with the special supervision of supposed heresies, had commenced proceedings. Since the Vice-Chancellor had shared Dr. Hampden's humiliation for his responsibility in the Macmullen scandal, he, too, was out for revenge on the Tractarians. This time the opponents of the

Oxford Movement had struck at the top. The Statutes provided that a "delated" sermon be examined by a board of six Doctors of Divinity who should come to a decision and punish the preacher, if necessary. They also stated that the Regius Professor was to be one of the examiners, if possible.¹⁶ Since this was Pusey's position, a substitute had to be found. Not only was the appointed board largely anti-Tractarian in theology, but the substitute chosen in Pusey's place was none other than his accuser, Dr. Faussett.¹⁷ Though Pusey had requested a hearing, it was not granted; in fact, the whole ~~pre~~ proceedings were kept secret; the accuser was unnamed at the time, no charges were presented, and no reason was offered as to just why the sermon was heretical.¹⁸ Considering these circumstances, one is not surprised to learn that Pusey was found guilty. The expected protests arose everywhere; even the eminent statesmen William Gladstone and Justice Coleridge requested knowledge of the grounds for the sentence.¹⁹ The requests were refused and Pusey accepted the punishment which in the long run was to have an important effect on his position in the Movement.

The next defeat of the Oxford Movement was associated with a man who, by attracting attention to himself as the center of controversy, came to be considered a leader of the Movement after the condemnation of Newman and Pusey. This man was William G. Ward, one of the members of the younger generation who had practically grown up within the folds of the

Movement and was first beginning to express himself. In his career and its results one may see the factors involved in the final breakup of the Oxford Movement.

Under the instruction of Newman and the influence of other Tractarians, Ward had developed a strong leaning towards the Church at Rome. Dean Church recorded three ideas as those chiefly responsible for this attraction:

"One was that Rome did, and, he believed, nothing else did, keep up the continuous recognition of the supernatural element in religion, that consciousness of an ever-present power not of this world which is so prominent a feature in the New Testament,.... In the next place he revolted... from the popular exhibition in England,... of the doctrine of justification. The ostentatious separation of justification from morality, with all its theological refinements and fictions, seemed to him profoundly unscriptural,...and...profoundly immoral.... it was a principle on which all his philosophy was built, that 'careful and individual moral discipline is the only possible basis on which Christian faith and practice can be reared.' In the third place he was greatly affected, not merely by the paramount place of sanctity in the Roman theology and the professed Roman system, but by the standard of saintliness which he found there, involving complete and heroic self-sacrifice for great religious ends,... beside which English piety and goodness at its best,...seemed unambitious and pale and tame, of a different order from the Roman, and less closely resembling what we read of in the first ages and in the New Testament." 20

When one understands that this was the nature of the views which Ward held and expressed, the later events in his career will not seem unnatural.

Before considering Ward and his work, a pause to describe the reaction against the Tractarians in general will assist one in understanding, not only the outcome of the career of the last of its leaders, but the fate of the Oxford Movement in general. As has been seen, with the change of leadership of the Movement from Newman to Pusey, the Tracts had become more concerned with the doctrines of the Church and with establishing more clearly what the Church itself was, rather than what its relationship was to the State. The concept of the Church put forth by the Tractarians, which was similar to that existing at the time of the production of the thirty-nine Articles, brought about a reaction which might be expected to have been received from an introduction of a tyrannical absolute monarchy. Thomas Mozley remarked that the English people thought the Oxford Movement had gone straight against the whole course of the English Church for the preceding three centuries.²¹ Fasting, daily Common Prayer, Saints' Days, Holy Days, the study of the primitive Church fathers, the necessity of the Sacraments,-- all these had been given up long ago.

"the Tracts preached what a King and a Primate had lost their heads for, what the monarchy, the Church, the whole constitution, and the greater part of the gentry had been overthrown for, what Bishops and clergy had been cast out for, and what Convocation was suspended a century for." ²²

Is it any wonder the people had risen with the cry of "Popery." Even those who looked towards the proposals of the Tractarians with open-minded consideration found them difficult to practice.

In objection they had proposed the situation of a small agricultural parish. How could a daily service be held when of necessity the congregation had to be at work in the fields far from the church? What was the sense of fasting when they were starving anyway? Besides, why should they, mere ordinary laymen, keep standards and practices which they not only did not understand but knew that the very Tractarians who preached the doctrines did not live up to them? Were they to make the best use of every minute of the day and practice rigid fast disciplines when they knew that almost everyday of the week W. J. Copleston might be found lying in bed until eleven a.m. or eating a large meal of mutton chops when he arose? 23

They would not! Is it any wonder then, that there was a strong popular reaction against anything the Tractarians published? Not only laymen but clergymen as well were repulsed by their works.

"One person who traveled protesting against them said 'that it was against his conscience to read any of the works proceeding from any of the writers in question, as his doing so would be to run himself unnecessarily into the way of temptation.'" 24

This was the prevailing attitude of the time towards the Oxford Movement and this the type of reader that passed judgment on the works of Ward.

At the beginning of his active participation in the Oxford Movement, Ward had held a position as tutor of mathematics at Oxford. That which was a partial stimulation of his

prolific publishing of antagonistic opinions was the formal challenge of his worthiness to hold the position considering the theological views which he professed.²⁵ But more important than the defense of his theology at this time were the articles he had published in the "British Critic."²⁶ Here were expressed, not only the views described in the foregoing characterization of Ward, but even the more radical concept that only what was Roman could be called truly Catholic.

In the fall of 1843 this review came to an end and Ward lost his means of reaching the public. However, William Palmer of Worcester published a condemnatory pamphlet contrasting the later writers in the "British Critic" with the earlier Tractarians.²⁷ Ward seized this opportunity to continue to express his views in what was intended to be a short tract but gradually grew into the six hundred pages of the famous Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in Comparison with Existing Practice, which was published in 1844. This work was to bring about Ward's downfall.

"The object of the book was twofold. Starting with an 'ideal' of what the Christian Church may be expected to be in its various relations to men, it assumes that the Roman Church and only the Roman Church, satisfies the conditions of what a Church ought to be, and it argues in detail that the English Church, in spite of its professions, utterly and absolutely fails to fulfill them."²⁸

Not only were his views troublesome to some of the older members of the Oxford Movement and objectionable to the general public, but his actual phrasing was unnecessarily antagonistic:

"We find, oh, most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of the English Churchmen.... Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no Roman doctrine; yet I retain my fellowship which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no ecclesiastical censure in any shape." 29

This was to be the last major antagonistic publication by Ward while he was in the Anglican Church. By vote of Convocation, the book was condemned and Ward himself deprived of his University degrees.³⁰ Soon afterwards, in the summer of 1845, Ward left the Church of England for that of Rome.³¹

This, however, did not mark the end of Ward's effect on the Oxford Movement. A shrewd, impatient logician, he constantly pestered the other members of the Movement with questions; the answers to which forced them, even against their will, closer to the views of Rome.³² Many had come to the conclusion that the Anglican Church was more corrupt than the Roman, but they had chosen to remain with their spiritual "Mother" in the hope that they might help rid her of her blemishes. However, after having been officially condemned several times for trying to alter her conditions, they came to believe that perhaps the corruption was too great to be remedied and began to look to the care of their own souls. Not only were they tired of Ward's antagonizing questions, but they had grown tired of dispute in general. Thomas Mozley, in recollection of his feelings at the time, stated,

"I believe I was seeking rest. I was distracted and wearied with discussions above my measure, my faculties, and my attainments....

"The Church of England was one vast arena of controversy. Ten thousand popes -- the lay popes ten times more arrogant, unreasonable, and bitter than the clerical; and the female popes a hundred times worse than either -- laid down the law and demanded instant obedience....

"They charge Rome with depriving men of the right of private judgement. Why, this is to relieve them of a task generally above their powers. It gives them a harbor of refuge from a continual storm. They are to be no longer answerable for their opinions. So as they conform and obey, the Church of Rome will not be always putting them into the arena to fight wild beasts." 33

For all these reasons, others implicit in this paper, and still others which perhaps will never be recorded, many of the members of the Oxford Movement had followed Ward to the Roman Church. Mr. Frederick Oakely had gone, then Ambrose St. John, Mr. J. D. Delgairns, Mr. Frederick W. Faber, Albany Christie, John Brande Morris, and Mr. David Lewis.³⁴ All these and still others had been accepted in various places by the Church of Rome. Finally, in 1845, John Henry Newman followed the others. With this final conversion, the Oxford Movement could not hope to remain what it had been in the past.

In his acceptance of Rome, Newman had not made as hasty a decision as most of the others who left the Anglican Church. He had first questioned his position in 1841 at the time of the controversy over the Jerusalem bishopric.³⁵ Troubled, he

had withdrawn to his parish at Littlemore, to be free of the raging public debates, where he might rest and think more clearly.³⁶ As one has seen, with the change of the leadership of the Oxford Movement from Newman to Pusey, the emphasis of the Movement was changed from a consideration of the relationship of the Church with the State, to an attempt to define the theological position of the Church. In the first instance the Tractarians turned to the doctrine of Apostolic succession to justify their claims, and in the second they based their position on the concept of Catholicity. Newman's sister, in her collection of his letters and papers, stated that among the arguments which shook him most was the principle "Securus judicat orbis ~~ten~~arum", which he discovered in his investigation of the Donatist controversy.³⁷ Translated, this becomes "The universal church judges safely." Since Newman considered Rome the center of unity, there was little question left in his mind as to where he belonged.³⁸

Perhaps the true reasons for Newman's decision will never be known, but not being relevant to this study, no complete statement or judgment of these is pretended. The important concern of this paper is that Newman's conversion brought the Movement to an end. Since it was largely through Newman that the Movement had come to have its center located at Oxford, which gave it its name, his departure for Rome, in effect, brought the Oxford Movement to an end.³⁹ Keble and Pusey were still active, true, but they centered their activities

outside of Oxford. In fact, as an organized enterprise, the Movement had disappeared. It cast a silent shadow of horror over its friends scattered across the country, leaving small eddies here and there where its causes were still carried on by persistent clergymen.⁴⁰ But Newman was gone, and with him, the Oxford Movement.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 76.
2. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 296-297.
3. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 343-344.
4. Ibid., pp. 350-353.
5. Ibid., pp. 364-365.
6. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 315-316.
7. Ibid., pp. 315-316.
8. Ibid., p. 318.
9. Ibid., pp. 316-318.
10. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 353-354.
11. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, pp. 141-146.
12. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 318-320.
13. Ibid., pp. 320-323.
14. Ibid., p. 323.
15. Ibid., p. 328.
16. Ibid., p. 329.
17. Ibid., p. 332.
18. Ibid., p. 329, 331.
19. Ibid., pp. 333-334.
20. Ibid., pp. 341-342.
21. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 409-411.

22. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 409-411.

23. Ibid., I, 413.

24. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, p. 5.

25. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 344-346.

26. Ibid., p. 355.

27. Ibid., p. 372.

28. Ibid., p. 373.

29. W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in Comparison with Existing Practice ([no publisher], 1884), pp. 565-566.

30. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 376-382.

31. Ibid., p. 394.

32. Ibid., pp. 364-365.

33. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, II, 392-393.

34. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 394.
Also, Wilfred Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921), I, 83-85.

35. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 146.

36. Ibid., pp. 175-176.

37. Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 286-287.

38. Ibid., II, 319.

39. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 406.
Also, D. G. Somervell, English Thought In the Nineteenth Century, p. 108.

40. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 406-408.

CHAPTER VII

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

With the conversion of Newman, the Oxford Movement, as such, had come to an end. New leaders carried the old banner for many years, but their headquarters were not at the University and the old name was not retained.¹ The Oxford Movement had dissolved and had been absorbed into a general reform program of the Anglican Church. But even in this form, its affects were widespread and still to be found a century later.²

One of the most immediate and obvious repercussions of the Oxford Movement was its profound affect on the Anglican Church and the religious life of the nation, and perhaps less noticeably, the world. Thomas Mozley, in reflection, remarked:

"Upon the whole the Movement must be credited with the increased interest in divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford Movement,...has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcraft, it has filled the land with churchcrafts of all kinds." 3

One particular manifestation of the revival which it brought about was the restoration of community life in the Church of England. Before 1833, three or four attempts had

been made to establish cooperative religious communities but all had failed.⁴ Under the guidance of Newman and Pusey, however, success was finally achieved.⁵ In 1841 the first Anglican Sister dedicated herself to the Religious life, and in 1844, in the parish of Christ Church at Albany Street in London, the first definite Sisterhood was established.⁶ This was followed by the founding of the Community of Saint Thomas the Martyr at Oxford in 1847, and in the following year, the Society of the Holy Trinity and the Community of Saint Mary the Virgin at Wantage.⁷ Soon the great Sisterhood of All Saints of Clewer was established and many more followed in the next few decades.⁸ Even liberal Churchmen were forced to recognize, as Warre-Cornish observed in his English Church in the Nineteenth Century:

"That so far as the revival of Sisterhoods goes 'the High Church clergy and laity deserve the credit of having set in motion and maintained an organization of great efficacy and most beneficent spiritual power, which works with untiring energy against the evils concentrated in our great towns.'" ⁹

The same might be said of communities for men, although they were more noticeable for their quality than quantity.¹⁰ The establishment of centers of religious activity helped to make the Church's various expressions more effective and tended to magnify most of the effects of the Oxford Movement.

Another result of the reforms of the Tractarians was a changed conception of the work of the Christian ministry and the attitudes towards the clergy. A clergyman was expected,

first of all, to be a spiritual man and he was most respected when he knew his job.¹¹ More was expected of him than of the clergy a century before. Not only was he obliged to teach the truths of a Catholic Faith, but it was necessary that he discuss their moral implications and show how they were to be applied in everyday life.¹² The Faith itself had been altered, its weak foundation of bibliolatry having been exchanged for the stronger continuous witness of a Divine Society founded by Christ.¹³ There was a renewal of knowledge of forgotten truths on the part of both laymen and the clergy.¹⁴ The overall effect was a greater respect for both the Church and religion in general.

Worship was another aspect of religion strongly influenced by the Oxford Movement.¹⁵ In his analysis of the results of the reforms, S. L. Ollard remarked:

"The Anglo-Catholic Revival has revived the sense of worship. It has brought back reverence, care, occasionally even splendor, into the public worship of God. It has furnished the most powerful motive for preserving and then decorating the house of God in the land. Directly its spirit touched a parish the first outward sign of it was shown by an attempt to restore or rebuild the parish church.... In poetry and prose English writers have not been slow to praise the virtues of the witness of the parish church with its heavenward pointing spire or tower, and its silent call to a higher life and a brighter world: that appeal could have had little force when those parish churches themselves were monuments of neglect and decay, and their witness was apparently to a creed outworn." 16

The previous quotation immediately brings to mind another obvious effect of the Oxford Movement, church architecture. After Christopher Wren's death, church architecture had remained almost at a standstill until restimulated by the Oxford group.¹⁷ The only other work of notice besides that of the Movement was the Roman Catholic churches designed by A. W. Pugin.¹⁸ Even Pugin was indebted to them, for he used the church at Littlemore, which was designed by Newman, as a model for many of his churches and chapels.¹⁹ The appearance of many new college buildings was yet another result of the influence of the Tractarians.²⁰ Perhaps most demonstrative of the extent of their effect was the construction of the Royal Court of Justice in the Strand, which is the only public building in London to bear the figure of Christ.²¹ But more than for the quantity and quality of structures, the Oxford Movement is to be praised for the means by which they were produced. Previously, funds for churches had come largely from Parliament, but in the new architectural revival they came from both the rich and the poor who were touched by the Tractarians.²² Physically, as well as spiritually, the Oxford Movement did much to beautify the weary face of the land.

Two other areas in which the Oxford Movement had a noticeable effect are literature and Church music. Among the members of the Oxford Movement, John Keble, Isaac Williams, Frederick W. Faber, and Christina Rossetti were notable poets.²³ Newman's works are still read by the modern world, as are some

of the volumes in a long series of religious novels which were also stimulated by the Movement.²⁴ Even more important than the effect on literature was the revival of Church music. Until reintroduced by the Tractarians, choral services and hymn singing had become almost nonexistent in the services of the Church of England.²⁵ The men of the Oxford Movement itself were musicians of note and great hymn writers.²⁶ Among their works one will recognize "Holy, Holy, Holy," "Jesus Lover of my soul," "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Abide with me," and "Onward Christian Soldiers."²⁷ There is little question as to the influence of the Oxford Movement on the religious music of the world.

In addition to the previously mentioned spiritual and artistic contributions to English life, the later members of the Oxford Movement did much to improve the social conditions of the country.

"Its first leaders had to set to work to teach the nature of the Church as a Divine Society, to insist on its supernatural claims, its creeds, ministry, and sacraments. It was the work of a later generation to explain the moral and social obligations of this revival and quickened Churchmanship which had already shown themselves, in fact, in the work of the Anglo-Catholics in the slums of the great cities."²⁸

Among those of the later generation of the Movement was Charles Lowden. He earned his fame by establishing the well-known Mission Settlement at the London docks in the parish of Saint George-in-the-East in 1856.²⁹ This initiated a movement which led to the development of "Settlements" in the slum areas of all

the great cities of the world. Among the other "Settlements" developed by the Tractarians were Oxford House, Cambridge House, the House of Charity in Soho, and Fusey's famous establishment in the slums of Leeds.³⁰ By furnishing the poor with recreational facilities, the Oxford Movement had an important effect in improving their living conditions. Socially, as well as spiritually, the Oxford group had contributed greatly to the needs of its country.

From small beginnings as an objection to the hasty reforms of an impatient Government, the Oxford Movement had expanded greatly. Not only did it bring about many improvements in the religion of the country, but it applied itself to other areas of English life and produced the same successful results. No matter what their profession, there is much to be learned from the Oxford Movement by modern molders of society.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 406-408.
2. Perceval, A Collection of Papers Connected With the Theological Movement of 1833, pp. 6-7.
Also, Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, II, 39-40.
3. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, II, 42-43.
4. S. L. Ollard, What England Owes to the Oxford Movement (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1933), p. 29.
5. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, I, 342-343.
6. Ollard, What England Owes to the Oxford Movement, p. 29.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
10. Ibid., p. 30.
11. Ibid., p. 37.
12. Ibid., p. 38-39.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 40.
15. Somervell, English Thought In The Nineteenth Century, p. 108.
16. Ollard, What England Owes to the Oxford Movement, pp. 8-9.
17. Ibid., p. 10.
18. Ibid., pp. 12-14.
19. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, II, 345-346.

20. Ollard, What England Owes to the Oxford Movement,
pp. 10-12.

21. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

22. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

23. Ibid., pp. 24-26.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

26. Ibid., p. 18.

27. Ibid., pp. 20-23.

28. Ibid., p. 28.

29. Ibid., pp. 27-28.

30. Ibid., pp. 27-30.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with a description of the major themes of the Oxford Movement, illustrating how they were developed through the intermingling of the ideas and actions of the men who were its leaders. With this approach it is hoped that one can interpret more accurately the significance of the Movement.

This examination has described how Newman, though he made no deliberate design to place himself in the position of leadership, directed the earliest beginnings of the Movement in protest against the secular infringement of the Government. Pusey's redirection of the Movement to a more careful examination of its position has also been pointed out. And finally, with Ward and the expression of the Movement which he represents one has seen the eventual consequences of the Tractarians' views and their effect on English life.

As a protest against the infringement of the Government upon the rights of the Church, the Oxford Movement, in its first stages, warned the world against hasty alteration of traditional

heritages, especially if those alterations were the result of rationalization with a secular, materialistic orientation. In its later expression, the Oxford Movement indicated the first steps towards establishing a sound basis for a social order. Such a Utilitarian spokesman as John Stuart Mill acknowledged the force and wisdom of the Oxford Movement's message.

"the Oxford theologians had done for England something like what Guizot, Villemain, Michelet, Cousin, had done a little earlier for France; they had opened, broadened, deepened the issues and meaning of European history; they had reminded us that history is European; that it is quite unintelligible if treated as merely local." ¹

The recognition of the importance of the principle of Catholicity, which was greatly responsible for the conversion of Newman, is one of the great contributions of the Tractarians to their own time and the world today. Emphasizing this principle, the members of the Oxford Movement have urged those who would strive to establish a harmonious society to rise above an idealization of themselves to the principles of truth revealed through the objective approach of universality. Happiness for all will never be obtained as long as individuals persist in struggling for their own ends with little consideration of others. Cooperation is necessary and this can only come from the understanding and respect of every individual in the community. One can neither understand nor appreciate others without a universal orientation. If the State is to include all beings, then it

must be built on truths and laws which consider the significance of every personality. If this is so, then what better orientation is there than the spiritual? In communion with God man is raised to a viewpoint which enables him to regard his world, his fellow human beings, and himself with an objectivity and insight to be envied by the greatest of scientists. The world would do well to heed the message of the Oxford Movement.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone
(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), I, 120.

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ABSTRACT FROM SENIOR SCHOLAR PAPER BY ARTHUR B. GOYETTE

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT: ITS THEMES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

In retrospect, the Oxford Movement of nineteenth century England provides one with an interesting study of the struggle between the spiritual and secular worlds. However, repeated abstraction in an interpretation of its significance has tended to distort an accurate understanding of its historical development. Often this also has resulted in a misinterpretation of the nature of its major themes and their significance to the world. For these reasons, this study has attempted to describe the origin, maturity, and dissolution of the series of events which strictly speaking may be considered to be the Oxford Movement. In conclusion, liberty has been taken to comment on the nature of the Movement's themes and their significance in their own age and to man today.

The protest of man against oppression and corruption, which was expressed in the violence of the French Revolution on the continent, assumed quite a different form in nineteenth century England. Aggressive Liberalism rejuvenated the Whig party, which captured the ministry that had been held by the Tories for as long as most Englishmen could remember.

Utilitarianism, which was a governing element of this new force, significantly influenced Parliament in the sweeping reform program of the 1830's. All went well until the reforms were extended to deal with the secular intrusion upon, and corruption of, the spiritual realm. In 1833, Parliament suppressed ten Irish bishoprics without the consultation or consent of Anglican authorities. The secular powers had overstepped their bounds, bringing about a new crisis in the age-old controversy of Church and State. The name given to the chief ecclesiastical reaction was "the Oxford Movement".

As a protest against the infringement of the secular powers upon the rights of the Church, the Oxford Movement, at first, was a relatively insignificant manifestation of the old struggle of Church and State. After preliminary deliberations, a decision was made to publicize this protest through small pamphlets or tracts. Out of this came the famous Tracts For the Times, which resulted in the rise of John Henry Newman to the leadership of the Movement because of his special ability in this particular form of expression. Making Oxford University his headquarters, Newman carried on a program which was so successful that it soon made the cause of the Tractarians known all around the world.

The general significance of the first stage of the Oxford Movement must be understood in a negative sense. One may say that since it was a protest against the infringement

of the government upon the rights of the Church, it also warned the world against hasty alteration of traditional heritages, especially when those alterations were directed by a materialistic Utilitarianism. Over a period of time, increased popularization of the Utilitarianism of Bentham had led to the belief that the realization of human nature was to be achieved through the adaptation and development of the world's material resources to the greatest possible satisfaction of one's personal pleasures. The result was a narrow, self-oriented view of the world which eventually became the equation of man with the ultimate spiritual principle of the universe. As, more and more, man became materialistically oriented, any spiritual significance of human personality and society was denied. Man had to prove his worth to the world. The consequence today is that few men think they are worth very much at all. This has been the source of much confusion and the loss of human value and direction. In a sense the Oxford Movement, in its first stage, may be interpreted as a protest against these developments which have led to the conditions of our modern social dilemma..

After the early successes in restraining the ecclesiastical measures of Parliament, Edward Bouverie Pusey became the dominant personality of the Oxford Movement. Through his efforts, the Tracts were lengthened and changed in subject matter, which resulted in a complete redirection of the Movement. Having forced the secular powers to recognize their

limitations, the Tractarians paused to examine the position and resources of the Church in order to improve its preparation for the eternal battle with the nonspiritual forces. In doing this, the Oxford Movement also indicated the first steps towards establishing a sound basis for any social order. The recognition of the importance of the principle of Catholicity, which was greatly responsible for the conversion of the Movement's leaders after it had been carried to its logical conclusion in its third stage, is one of the great contributions of the Tractarians to their own time and to the world today.

In the emphasis of the principle of Catholicity, the members of the Oxford Movement have urged those who would strive to establish a harmonious society to rise above an idealization of themselves to the principles of truth revealed through the objective approach of universality. Happiness for all will never be obtained as long as individuals persist in struggling for their own ends with little consideration of others. Co-operation is necessary and this can come only from an understanding and respect of every individual in the community. One can neither understand nor appreciate others without a universal orientation. If the State is to include all beings, then it must be built on truths and laws which consider the significance of every personality. If this is so, then what better orientation is there than the spiritual? In communion with God, man is raised to a viewpoint which enables him

to regard his world, his fellow human beings, and himself with an objectivity and insight to be envied by the greatest scientists. These, then, are the suggestions to modern society present in the major themes of the Oxford Movement.

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